

Refuge of Oppression.

GERRIT SMITH vs. THE BIBLE AND THE CONSTITUTION.

This notorious fanatic, who aspires to high rank as a philosopher, and who claims to be the friend of the poor, and the champion of the oppressed, has recently delivered a characteristic tirade of abuse against the Bible, the Constitution, and the President of the United States. It is well known that, owing to the success of his father in accumulating a large property through speculation in lands, Mr. Smith came into possession of an immense fortune early in life. Instead of using his wealth for the purpose of benefiting his fellow-citizens, his charities have been almost wholly devoted to the colored race, and his great effort in life has been to make a negro as good as a white man. In the furtherance of this great object, Mr. Smith has gained some little notoriety, and has paid roundly in hard cash for the very questionable honors attained. Until the last Presidential election, Mr. Smith acted independently of the political organizations of the day, and has been honored on diverse occasions with the votes of some scores of long-headed, crack-brained individuals, for the Presidential office. But, in 1860, he gave the Republican party, designated at that time as the "friends of freedom," the full benefit of his Herculean labors, in the political line, and ever since the inauguration of the worthy gentleman who now presides over the destinies of a free people, Mr. Smith has been a busy man with pen and voice, to the full extent of his moderate abilities, in aid of the revolutionary scheme to turn the tide of war from its legitimate purpose to an unconstitutional onslaught against the institution of slavery. On the day when Mr. Smith read the declaration issued by the General commanding the Western Department of the army, he rejoiced with exceeding great joy in the belief that the colored millennium had at last arrived; but when he saw the letter from the President, vetoing the insane projects of the "Pathfinder," Mr. Smith opened the floodgates of his wrath, and since that time he has filled the air with his denunciations of everything sacred and profane, in which he can see the least toleration towards the institution of slavery, and with cries for vengeance against the President of the United States, and all others in authority, excepting, always, one colored justice of the Peace, recently appointed to office in and for the State of Massachusetts, "God bless her."

To show the temper of this burly-headed son of fanaticism, and the wickedness of his pestilential doctrines, we present our readers with a few choice extracts from his late "discourse," the whole of which may be found recorded in a regular number of that useful journal known as the New York Tribune:

"But there is much in the Bible which cannot be proved. Its moral character, meaning that of its great principles and sentiments, speaks for itself and commends itself. But nearly all else in it is destitute not only of conclusive, but even of considerable proof. The war of the Bible is probably as inaccurately described as the wars of other old books. And its miracles are, doubtless, as groundless imaginations or sheer fictions, as are the miracles of other books of those ancient dates, when the empire of superstition was universal, and the popular appetite for marvels so clamorous."

"If need be, for the salvation of the country, let the Constitution be thrown to the winds. To that the North may trade as deep under the foot as the South has done. The democratic principle, which our people cherish, will reproduce Constitutions as often as there may be occasion for them."

"President Lincoln would be as brave as a lion in the presence of the biggest gun in the whole Southern army. Only remind him of his Constitutional obligations to Slavery—in other words, only take him where habit has already taken and conquered him—then he becomes a feeble, trembling, and cowardly creature, and he is as much as a man, as he is a slaveholder, in the line of his weakness, he is nothing but weakness."

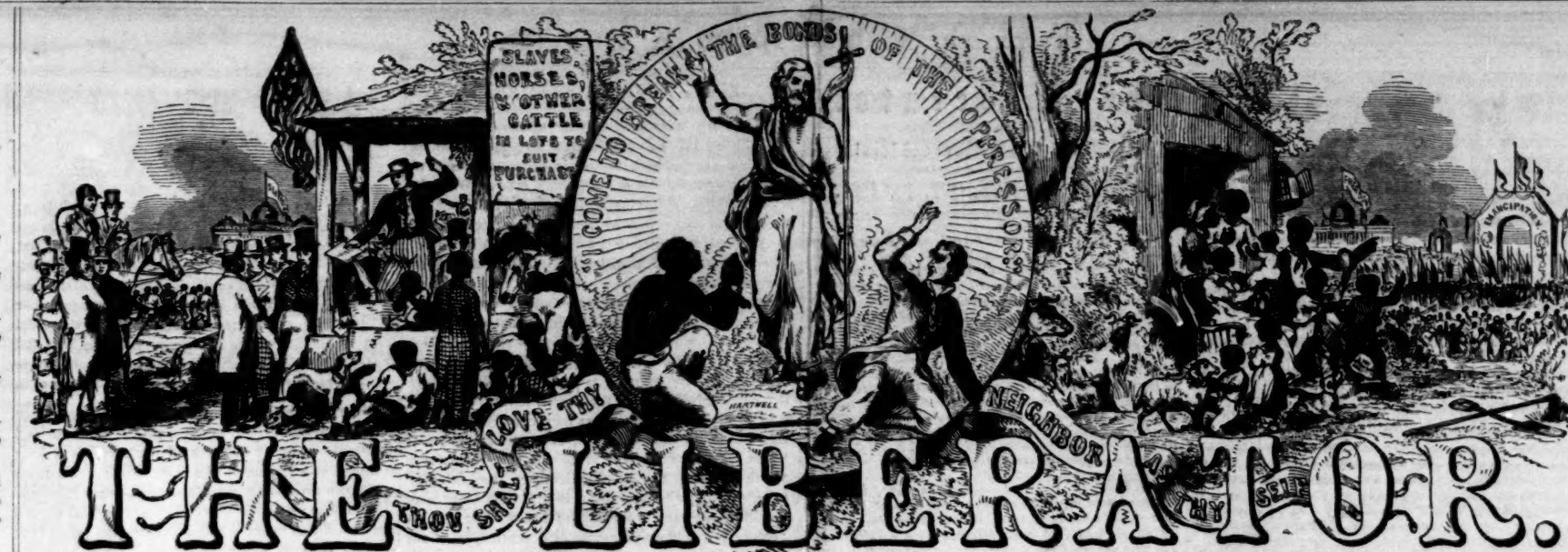
We trust the above will suffice to define the position of Mr. Smith as a Christian and as a patriot; whether his claim to full membership in the "regular" Republican party will be recognized, is not for the "like of us" to say. It is, however, interesting to know that the party which is so much interested in the divine virtues, the solemn compact of the Constitution, and the character of the Executive, is tolerated by the authorities. Where is the puissant Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police? Let him make an example of this man, who has shown greater malignity against the Government than any other man in the city. Let him be confined within the walls of the Hotel de Lafayette. Do your duty, good Mr. Kennedy, and take within the potent grasp of your august official authority the person known as the Hon. Gerrit Smith, of Peterboro, New York.—Brooklyn (N. Y.) City News.

THE FREMONT (EMANCIPATION) PROCLAMATION DEPRECIATED.

The account which we gave with some feeling of doubt last week, of the partial character of Gen. Fremont's proclamation of negro emancipation in Missouri, is fully borne out by the document itself, which has now reached us, and is as follows:

"The property, real and personal, of all persons, in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall directly be proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if they have any, are hereby declared free men."

This is a new feature in the civil conflict, and may well inaugurate an entirely new phase of the most careful consideration. . . . We feel pretty certain that Gen. Fremont, in issuing this bold proclamation, must have acted without the orders, and probably against the wishes, of his superiors. Even if it is so, however, though he may be disloyal and emboldened them, he has, we fear, effectually committed them. He is too important a man to be lightly disavowed; he is employed on an expedition of vast consequence and peril, in which any interference with his authority and free action may be fatal to success; he may be able to plead something very like necessity on behalf of his daring assumption; and be this as it may, a rescinding of his proclamation by the Supreme Government would be now peculiarly difficult. It would betray the divergence of feeling in the several sections of the party on one of the most imminent and vital questions involved in the strife; it would go far to cool the zeal, if not to effect the entire alienation of the Abolitionists, who are the most energetic and determined supporters of the Union; and it would virtually be a promise to the secessionists that the terrible weapon of negro insurrection would never



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

The United States Constitution is "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell."

"What order of men under the most absolute of monarchies, or the most aristocratic of republics, was ever invested with such an odious and unjust privilege as that of the separate and exclusive representation of less than half a million owners of slaves, in the Hall of the House, in the chair of the Senate, and in the Presidential mansion? This investment of power in the owners of one species of property concentrated in the highest authorities of the nation, and disseminated through thirteen of the twenty-six States of the Union, constitutes a privileged order of men in the community, more adverse to the rights of all, and more pernicious to the interests of the whole, than any order of nobility ever known. To call government thus constituted a Democracy is to insult the understanding of mankind. . . . It is doubly tainted with the language of national jurisprudence, that can define it as a model in the records of ancient history, or in the political theories of Aristotle, with which it can be likened. It was introduced into the Constitution of the United States by an equivocation—a representation of property under the name of persons. Little did the members of the Convention from the Free States imagine or foresee what a sacrifice to Moloch was hidden under the mask of this concession."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

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be used against them,—as we feel tolerably confident it never will.

If, however, the Government at Washington, in the view of the difficulties before them, should have determined upon creating the Rebellion which cannot be repressed; if they should either have authorized Gen. Fremont's emancipation proclamation, or should adopt and act upon it now that it has once been promulgated,—what is the inevitable influence, and what must be the practical result? There can be no reason for pursuing one course in Missouri, and another in Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee.

Can it be for a moment believed that the Federal Government are ready for such a trenchant and fearful measure? Have we any reason to suppose that their prospects are so desperate as to necessitate so questionable and so terrible an expedient? Will not the merchants of Boston and New York recoil from a proceeding which, if it produces the effect anticipated from it, will inflict utter ruin and universal desolation on those fertile territories from whose prosperity so large a portion of their own has always been derived; and which, if it be not effective, will have manifested a design and a temper which the Southern planters can never pardon? Will not all the soberer, and wiser, and gentler spirits of the Union, however earnest and sincere be their political predilections, will not all who shrink from suffering, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood,—cry out against the inauguration of a policy which, if it means anything, means negro insurrection, servile war, outrages and horrors without number and without name? Will not, in a word, every one whom the intoxication of war and passion has not utterly blinded, and hardened, and perverted, rise to drive from power a party whose incapacity has brought the country to so dreadful an emergency, and who in their folly or their frenzy do not scruple to let loose four millions of Africans against eight millions of Anglo-Saxons—or, on the most favorable supposition as to the result, to liberate four millions of ignorant semi-savages, unaccustomed either to the principles, or to the control, of the free States, as a people, and to let them loose upon the world, without making any arrangements to guard against the possible consequences of so unparalleled a step? It appears to us, we confess, that Gen. Fremont's proceedings, if disavowed, must shake the Federal Government most seriously; and if adopted and followed up, must produce results of which we shudder to think that Government will be by far the most insignificant.

But there is another point of view in which this extraordinary proclamation requires to be considered, and which still further enhances its singularity. Fremont proclaims emancipation only to the slaves of the rebels. He does not liberate the negroes of the Union. He sets them free, not as an act of sublime magnanimity, but as an act of military policy. His edict is a hostile weapon against the slave-owners, not a message of mercy to the slaves. It can be justified on no abolition principles, and it ought to command no abolition sympathies. Conceive the position in which, if sanctioned and consistently carried out, it will place the residual States—the United States, as they still call themselves. The slaves of secessionists—that is, the slaves of the South, the slaves of the rebellion, as a people, and to let them loose upon the world, without making any arrangements to guard against the possible consequences of so unparalleled a step? It appears to us, we confess, that Gen. Fremont's proceedings, if disavowed, must shake the Federal Government most seriously; and if adopted and followed up, must produce results of which we shudder to think that Government will be by far the most insignificant.

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MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH.

We are sorry to see a disposition in several quarters to represent the Republican party, mainly on the strength of Mr. Sumner's unfortunate speech at the Convention, as a party of emancipation, a "John Brown party," party that desires to carry on this war as a war of abolition.

The convention certainly disavowed any intention of endorsing the fatal doctrines announced by Mr. Sumner, with a distinctness which can scarcely be flattered to that gentleman's conception of his own intellect. All practical considerations, in fact, were ignored by a misallied philanthropy which was impracticable as it is visionary, and which would lay waste the most prolific soil, and fill our land with vagabond hordes of wretched beings.

We must limit the war to the purposes so distinctly avowed by the Administration, or the sun of our national prosperity will set in darkness and gloom, and the last vestige of our liberties will be lost in anarchy. Proclaim the policy of emancipation, and all hope of a reconstruction of the Union will be crushed out. All the loyal elements in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri will be alienated at once, and every prospect of awakening the dormant loyalty in the seceded States will have passed away. It will come to this, that we must subjugate or be subjugated. The people of the South would defend their homes and their freedom to the last extremity, and we would do the same. The present generation would not see the end of such a contest, unless the North should be conquered and subdued by the aid of foreign bayonets or insurrection. From such a war we may well pray to be delivered."

We learn from the Journal the further fact, that Mr. Sumner's speech was not even on invitation of the State Committee, but was either his volunteer effort, or the work of some individuals on their own responsibility. The Republicans of Boston desire to be rid of any connection with the faustic Senator's remarks. The signs of the times improve.—New York Journal of Commerce.

MESSRS. EDITORS.—Day is breaking! There is hope for the nation when Charles Sumner is repudiated by Republicans, and his maudlin speeches, with their false classics and false policies, fall still-born. His last effort before the late Republican Convention is disapproved by the party, as announced by the Boston Journal and Daily Advertiser, both strong Republican papers. But for the attack of Brooks by which Mr. Sumner was martyred, he would have been even more misreplicated in the Senate.

J. S. F.

After the reading of a very superfluous string of resolutions, Charles Sumner came upon the platform, and was received with warm cheers; and as he was introduced and went off into the usual anti-slavery speech, we could not help thinking of Mr. Wendell's little canon, touched off so regularly at sunset in "Great Expectations." Every year, as it comes around, and brings a convention, brings out Mr. Sumner in full dress, and a speech, which proves that he has sworn never to talk of anything but slavery, with, perhaps, a mental reservation touching himself. The "aged parent" is always present to hear the gun go off, and to express his delight with the noise. We could not but feel that Mr. Sumner's speech was ill-timed and out of place. Report Republican Convention in Springfield Republican.

THE LINE MUST BE DRAWN.

The line must be drawn distinctly between men who are for the Union and the Constitution, and men who are for abolition in spite of Union or Constitution. If the North shows, what is beyond doubt

The speech which we have several times referred has certainly done as much as lay within the compass of one man's powers to inspire this suspicion, to distract and weaken the loyal, and by indirect means to aid the disloyal. But they are as culpable and as dangerous to the public welfare as Mr. Sumner, who recklessly strengthened the effect of what he said, who represent a great party as consenting to the schemes which he disclosed, and who are telling the people here and elsewhere, that the success of certain nominees, which is sure to occur, will be the triumph of an unconstitutional, wicked and dangerous policy. The conservative Republicans have joined in time past with the opponents of their party in calling upon what is termed its "extreme wing" to concede something, for the sake of strengthening the hands of Union men in other States. We now call upon Democrats, also, to refrain from falsifying the record, to desist from unfounded charges, and not to furnish the enemies of Holt and Johnson and Prentice with the ready reply that Massachusetts, by whose side they would place Kentucky, fights for abolition, and not for Union.—Boston Daily Advertiser, October 18th.

The history of the anti-slavery movement in this country will hereafter rank as one of the strongest cases where human impatience and devotion to a Utopian idea have blinded men's eyes to the practical good which Providence has placed ready at hand. The insane folly of the Abolitionists killed out, years ago, the emancipation party, which at one time had the actual control of Virginia, and promised to eradicate slavery in other border States. The over-zealous scruples of the same extremists, some years later, elected Mr. Polk, and insured the consummation of the Texan scheme, which they affected to deprecate. Their follies and excesses have still later furnished the Southern extremists and their allies with a whole arsenal of weapons, which have been turned, without reason, but with marked effect, against the Republicans, the only political party which has pretended to recognize any moral duty connected with slavery, as resting upon the nation or upon the citizens of the free States. What the Abolitionists affected to desire, that they have prevented. What they affected to deprecate, that they have insured. Those who wished to do something in the only practical way against the extension of slavery, they have weakened and lost with a heavy weight of column.

The same folly is now repeated by those who urge the conversion of this war into a war for emancipation. They clamor for a blow to be struck against slavery itself, unmindful that Providence has already fore-shadowed the decay and end of that institution, in such terms as are clearly intelligible even to human apprehension. They are eager to be made the instruments of God's displeasure against an abhorred system, neglecting the palpable determination of Providence, that the system shall perish by the suicidal folly of those who uphold it. No more instructive lesson could be left for future imitators of our mistakes. All practical considerations, in fact, were ignored by a misallied philanthropy which was impracticable as it is visionary, and which would lay waste the most prolific soil, and fill our land with vagabond hordes of wretched beings.

THE WAR AND SLAVERY.

The Boston Journal thus disposes of Mr. Sumner's propositions to plunge us into anarchy:—

"Mr. Sumner and other radical anti-slavery men, dazzled by visions of universal freedom, entirely overlook the insurmountable difficulties which stand in the way of immediate emancipation. The unutterable folly of the party who have made war upon the country, and who would shrink from the prospect. The economic problem of supporting four millions of human beings who have never been self-dependent is not considered. All practical considerations, in fact, were ignored by a misallied philanthropy which was impracticable as it is visionary, and which would lay waste the most prolific soil, and fill our land with vagabond hordes of wretched beings."

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the truth, that the overwhelming majority here is for the old Union as it was, against all disorganizers, emancipationists and pseudo-reformers, if we can and Southern shout of victory over our own revolutionists, which shall be heard in the heart of the South, we shall do more to dethrone rebellion than all threats of freeing the slaves will accomplish in a generation. The Union men of the Southern States are looking anxiously from hour to hour for arguments in favor of the Union by which they can overcome the enemies of the country. The only cry against them is "The North is Abolitionist, and we cannot unite with Abolitionists." It is no time for us to discuss whether they have any ground for their assertion. Let us frankly acknowledge that there has been much Abolitionism at the North, and now, with one heart, we shout it out of our midst. Then we entreat the friends of the Government at the South, "The North is with you, to put down every species of rebellion and revolution among ourselves or you. We will protect your rights as firmly as our own." Now is the moment to do this, when even in Massachusetts, the headquarters of Abolitionism, the leading Republican papers and voters are casting off their Abolition allies, and seem to invite the co-operation of the Democrats. The movement that is begun may be judiciously carried on until the entire North will be for the Union men of the South. Then we hope to see a consistent party arising and advancing about our army, from the Lakes to the Gulf, a party that will be so tremendous against secession and Abolition before next Spring, that men will say the country is unanimous.—New York Journal of Commerce.

Selections.

THE WORCESTER CONVENTION.

We devote considerable space, to-day, to the record of the proceedings of the Convention held at Worcester on Tuesday, and only regret that our record is not more consonant to the true sentiment of Massachusetts in this hour of our national peril—that it fails lamentably to express the duty of true patriots at a moment when decided, positive action is required, and when the nation is in the midst of events of the hour, but rather indicates a time-serving, make-shift policy on the part of the dominant party of the State, thus following in the wake of those political organizations which have preceded it, and in its eager pursuit of popularity ignores forever the principles upon which it was founded.

The only redeeming feature from this evident tendency to forget the past in an insane craving for perpetuity, even if that were to be secured upon the ruins of principle, is to be found in the noble and eloquent speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, which, recognizing the aim of the rebellion, indicates the inflexible remedy for its monstrous evils and terrible progress, and with characteristic fidelity to the cause of Freedom, points to Slavery as the prolific source of our national troubles—its annihilation the only effective method of securing a speedy and permanent peace.

In vain do we turn to the resolutions passed at the Convention for any evidence that they emanated from a body of men representing the idea or policy of that phase of Republicanism which finds its most fitting exemplar in His Excellency Gen. Andrew, or fairly indicate the position and sentiments of a vast majority of the Republican party in the State and nation. The resolutions are a mere list of platitudes, treated to a dish of diluted milk, neither palatable nor wholesome even for babies; where one would expect a bountiful repast of solid and substantial food; instead of a plain recognition of the vital issue forced by the progress of armed rebellion upon the country, and the advocacy of prompt and decisive measures on the part of the Government to meet and grapple with it, the people are gravely informed that the preservation of the Constitution and form of Government under which we live is of paramount importance to the extinction and eradication from our midst of the cause which weakens the efficacy of the one, and would fain overthrow and destroy the other; instead of a bold and manly repudiation of the treasonable proposals for peace with armed rebels, charging home upon them with the severity of offended justice their manifold sins and iniquities, pronouncing them traitors, and having found the true source of the trouble, recommending a radical course, we are told that our only duty is to put down armed rebellion, and nothing else. Ignoring completely the fact that this rebellion has been inaugurated by slaveholders for the extension and perpetuation of the abominable and accursed system of human bondage—that Massachusetts men by thousands are now in arms defending the National Capital from the assaults of the minions of slavery—that slaves, armed and equipped with the engine of war, are daily confronting our gallant troops on the banks of the Potomac, unwilling instruments in the hands of their robber masters, and having found the death arrow, our people—knowing that such is the case—it is with unfeigned sorrow that we record it, as the calm decision of a party from which better things were to be expected—a large and influential body of delegates to a so-called Republican Convention in Massachusetts practically repudiate the issue which the stern necessity of war, bloody, vindictive, savage war, has forced upon the country, and with the wisdom and caution of owls solemnly decide that the Republicans cannot consistently weaken the power of the enemy by attacking his most vulnerable point! Furthermore, we are informed that the Republicans of Massachusetts will not rejoice when the time shall come, in the wisdom of the Government, to remove slavery, "the root and cause of this rebellion," and the "radical source of our present troubles,"—that they will not, "when the proper time shall arrive, welcome any act under the war power of the Commander-in-Chief, which shall declare all the slaves within the lines of our armies to be free, and accept their services in defence of the Union, thus carrying liberty for all human beings wherever the Stars and Stripes shall flow."

It was not strange that a Convention, composed of such material, should have been ready to strike hands with the bitter and unrelenting opponents of the principles and policy of the Republican party, and to select as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of the free-loving State of Massachusetts, a representative of a party which, for malignant hostility to the prevailing sentiment of our people, out-herods Herod, for our present worthy and efficient Secretary of State, Hon. Oliver Warner, to substitute one of the most mischievous of the late Breckinridge conspirators, and for the present Attorney-General select one of the most rabid pro-slavery, anti-Republican hunkers in the State, and having mingled all the "right" blue spirits and white, black spirits and grey, present this ring-streaked and speckled concoction as a genuine unadulterated article, the Republican State Ticket!

We opine that the mass of voters will not coincide with this latest phase of "truck and dicker," and

manage all the schemes of truckling politicians, will indicate, at the election in November, their opinion of such management. Do as you please, Messrs. Politicians! in proposing names of candidates for office, the people will dispose of all your cobweb sophistries, by electing worthy men to stations of honor and trust, and leaving unworthy, incapable, hunker politicians at home!—Sandwich Advertiser.

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH.

Some of the Boston newspapers, being zealous for such a suspension of antagonisms as will allow union and harmony among loyal men of different views and parties, have fallen rudely upon Charles Sumner. His speech at the State Convention is made the occasion of this crusade. Some of them employ very coarse terms, while others use more delicate expressions, but fail to use honest criticism. The Post thinks that Mr. Sumner should be "ducked in a horse pond." The Courier says nothing in the Convention but Mr. Sumner and his speech, finds in them that the "Republican managers" are insincere, misrepresents the speech, and evidently desires to see Mr. Sumner crucified. The Advertiser briefly condemns the speech; and the Journal, after characterizing it as the "ill-timed eloquence of Mr. Sumner," undertakes the not very honorable business of explaining and apologizing to the Courier.

What a sacrilegious thing it is to speak strongly against slavery! It is excusable to curse any other work of the devil, but this must be kept apart from the light of common day, and carefully guarded against rude treatment. When Charles I. was destroying England, in such style as provoked resistance and led to civil war, the rescuers of the nation were greatly embarrassed and weakened by the intrusion of a superstitious reverence for his sacred majesty. It was deemed sacrilegious to wound the king or to do him a personal harm in battle; and this policy continued disastrously active until it was crushed by the powerful hand of Cromwell. He shocked timid people by declaring that he would not hesitate to kill the king in battle; and his famous "Ironside" were pledged to shoot the king as readily as they would shoot any other foe. There is prevalent in this country a similar feeling towards slavery, which for so many years has officiated as our sacred majesty; and that will be a blessed day for the country, when we exchange it for a tone of feeling similar to that which Cromwell inspired for his sacred majesty.

There is no occasion for such treatment of Mr. Sumner and his speech, and it is felt by quiet lookers-on as an attempt at proscription lying in keeping with the professed desire to suspend antagonisms and abstain from fomenting disturbances among loyal men. Mr. Sumner uttered his thoughts frankly. He told what can be constitutionally done against slavery by the war power of the Government, and expressed his belief that "to carry Africa into the war" would make it more effective. He does not demand this policy for the Government, nor make any controversy in regard to it, but merely expressed his views with his usual eloquence and courtesy. Gen. Butler has spoken substantially in the same way, but without being attacked in the same fashion. We presume there are not many loyal men who would not actually decide finally that the salvation of the Republic is paramount to any claim of slavery. That institution is at the bottom of all our troubles, and deserves no mercy.—Worcester Spy.

PARTISANS NO PATRIOTS.

Nowhere in the loyal States, since the guns of Fort Sumter called the nation to arms, has there been such an exhibition of unpatriotic and reckless partisanship as has been shown by many journals in Massachusetts since the State Convention of the 1st instant. The Boston Post, with its party State ticket every day at the head of its columns, the Daily Advertiser, and the representatives of various other phases of popular opinion, rival each other in open abuse or ingenious depreciation of sentiments as loyal, and patriots as pure and true, as the country contains.

It is not material whether the Republican party is responsible for the sentiments of Mr. Sumner, or the resolutions of Mr. Clarke. They both stand upon their own footing, and time will speedily enough show how far they are prudent and right. The burning fact remains, that the system against which their arms are turned, and which has been the ruinous national wound, and having found the true source of the trouble, recommending a radical course, we are told that our only duty is to put down armed rebellion, and nothing else. Ignoring completely the fact that this rebellion has been inaugurated by slaveholders for the extension and perpetuation of the abominable and accursed system of human bondage—that Massachusetts men by thousands are now in arms defending the National Capital from the assaults of the minions of slavery—that slaves, armed and equipped with the engine of war, are daily confronting our gallant troops on the banks of the Potomac, unwilling instruments in the hands of their robber masters, and having found the death arrow, our people—knowing that such is the case—it is with unfeigned sorrow that we record it, as the calm decision of a party from which better things were to be expected—a large and influential body of delegates to a so-called Republican Convention in Massachusetts practically repudiate the issue which the stern necessity of war, bloody, vindictive, savage war, has forced upon the country, and with the wisdom and caution of owls solemnly decide that the Republicans cannot consistently weaken the power of the enemy by attacking his most vulnerable point! Furthermore, we are informed that the Republicans of Massachusetts will not rejoice when the time shall come, in the wisdom of the Government, to remove slavery, "the root and cause of this rebellion," and the "radical source of our present troubles,"—that they will not, "when the proper time shall arrive, welcome any act under the war power of the Commander-in-Chief, which shall declare all the slaves within the lines of our armies to be free, and accept their services in defence of the Union, thus carrying liberty for all human beings wherever the Stars and Stripes shall flow."

It was not strange that a Convention, composed of such material, should have been ready to strike hands with the bitter and unrelenting opponents of the principles and policy of the Republican party, and to select as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of the free-loving State of Massachusetts, a representative of a party which, for malignant hostility to the prevailing sentiment of our people, out-herods Herod, for our present worthy and efficient Secretary of State, Hon. Oliver Warner, to substitute one of the most mischievous of the late Breckinridge conspirators, and for the present Attorney-General select one of the most rabid pro-slavery, anti-Republican hunkers in the State, and having mingled all the "right" blue spirits and white, black spirits and grey, present this ring-streaked and speckled concoction as a genuine unadulterated article, the Republican State Ticket!

We opine that the mass of voters will not coincide with this latest phase of "truck and dicker," and

of the Republic. And while they fight bravely and faithfully with such weapons, as upon such battle-fields as are assigned to them, they can patiently await the time when it will not be deemed disloyal to advocate freedom as the inalienable birthright of mankind.—Worcester Spy.

WHAT HAS FREMONT SAID?

He has said that the slaves of the rebels should go free. He has not said that the slaves of the men loyal to the Constitution and the Government should go free, but only of those who are traitors and at war with the Government. Is not this right? Is it not in accordance with the conscientious convictions of every honest man, who is a well-wisher to his country and her glorious institutions? What are they endeavoring to do but to overthrow our Government, which they have sworn to uphold and protect, and thus not only making themselves traitors and rebels, but adding perjury of the vilest kind to their already accumulated crimes? Are not they approaching us with drawn swords ready to stab us in the back? Are they not supporting the Government and upholding the Constitution and the laws. Are not these rebels laying waste the country, destroying the property and taking the lives of innocent persons, for no cause but for the love and affection they have for the Constitution and the laws of the United States? Are they not forcing men of their own States, at the point of the bayonet, to embrace their cause contrary to their own convictions of right and duty? What deed in the black catalogue of crime have they not been guilty of in their madness and rage against Union men, and that of their own neighbors and States?

Then, we ask, in view of all these facts, what right has a rebel and a traitor to come and ask protection for his property, his slaves or his neck, of the Constitution and the laws he has set at defiance, and claims have no binding authority over him? Strange anomaly is this!

He has no right to make any such claim. He has forfeited all right to such protection, and the law holds only a rod over his head until he return to obedience. What, then, has Fremont said or done that should cause a censure, or disturb the sensitive nerves of those, who, by being long surrounded by the influences of the "peculiar institution," have become tainted by it, and are fearful that something should be said or done to weaken its power? What ever may be said or done by men high in authority in this Government against the proclamation of Gen. Fremont in Missouri, the people of the United States will sanction it, in spite of all the influences that may be brought against it, and the Government will, in the end, have to adopt it. The entire civilized world will approve of it, and the intelligent slaveholders in Kentucky will approve of it, and say it is right, and just, and what ought to be proclaimed everywhere.

When the proclamation was first issued, there was but one grand acclamation of applause and approval from one end of the country to the other. The press almost universally, of all politics, were loud and earnest in their approval. Our literary journals, our divines and statesmen, nearly all claimed that it was right—that it was just the thing—that it superseded the "contraband doctrine," and solved the mystery of the negro question, as pertaining to our military affairs. If it was right then, is it not right now? Has the rebel changed his position and become loyal? What, then, has produced such a change as we see in the tone of many of the press at this time? Is it not strange that a brush from the pen of those standing in high places should produce such a trembling and weakness as is manifested in certain quarters?—Sturges (Michigan) Journal.

THE HERALD BLOWING HOT AND COLD.

Few persons unacquainted with the N. Y. Herald's system of ground and lofty tugging would imagine, from the frantic denunciations of the daily press against Gen. Fremont's course, what the tone of that paper was upon the same subject a few weeks ago. It is somewhat curious, though certainly not astonishing, to find that where unmitigated abuse is lavished now, nothing but unqualified praise was awarded then. On the 10th of the month, the day after the publication of Gen. Fremont's liberating proclamation, the Herald spoke as follows:—

"The energetic proclamation declaring the State of Missouri under martial law, and giving freedom to the slaves of all slave-owners found in arms against the Government, and the highly efficient state of organization to which the army of the West has been already brought, go to show that the Government, the military authorities and the people of the loyal States are deeply impressed with the importance of the task which they are undertaking in the war with spirit and energy. . . . The proclamation of Fremont will strike terror throughout the Border States."

On the next day, Sept. 3, the Herald said:—

"The rebellion must be put down by some means or another, else it will put us down; and if nothing else will do, even to proclaim the abolition of slavery would be legitimate. All is fair in war. . . . Gen. Fremont and the other Generals must act according to circumstances, and their own judgment, unless otherwise ordered. . . . If he is acting upon his own responsibility, he is only carrying out the conflict which, so far as the rebels are concerned, . . . we have no fear of the result."

On the next day, Sept. 4, it said:—

"This manifesto will be apt to stir up the anti-slavery enthusiasm of England to such a degree as to endanger the cotton blockade of Lord Palmerston and Russell, and the present cotton party supporting it."

Two days after, Sept. 6, it said:—

RY SOCIETY

on Sunday morn-

of which Rev. Dr. H. B. Hooker, the Missionary Soc-

for several years

to help the

claiming a right

to extend the

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when you began by stating that all men were of right

free, and at the same time made provision to enslave

every seventh man, woman and child under the Con-

stitution?

Is it a matter plain to the common sense of free-

men, that it is a free government you seek to establish,

(if necessary, by the sword), when you perforce en-

slave, as you do at present, to make it a sure thing,

an absolute, unalterable fact, that five slaves shall

give to the owner the political power of three free-

men? How many years have the people of the United

States had cause to rejoice in the good effects produced,

by giving such power into the hands of persons who do

not hold themselves responsible for the observance of

any agreement whatever?

Is that form of government worth contending for

in that form, which will enslave any man? and

if it is, how much more worthy is that which will

enslave no man? It becomes freemen, who take arms,

to know what they fight for; and if it is to establish

five slaves to a free (politically) three

freemen, then it is not for a free government they

contend.

Under any circumstances, from henceforth the Con-

stitution is dead; you can never live again under

it. Why, then, to re-establish it as a rule

of government, which all can see is untrue and in-

competent?

Cumming men who favor your enemies, and who see

the dilemma you are placed in, are strong in their ex-

pressions of respect for that tainted instrument; for,

by keeping your aim fixed upon a false issue, they

succeed in preserving the weakest point and most vul-

nerable part of your enemies untouched. As long as

you are Democrats, or no-party men, or Republicans, (in

name), you can persuade you to war for the re-establish-

ment of the three-fifths vote, so long as they quite

sure that slaves, who can tell the difference between

black and white, will not trouble themselves to get rid

of their present tyrants by rising to help a cause

MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS IN NEW BEDFORD.

A meeting of the colored citizens of New Bedford

who are in favor of using their influence in behalf

of the government to put down the rebellion of the South,

assembled in the City Hall on the evening of the 9th

inst. A very general attendance was present.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Wm. Henry

Johnson, who read the following list of officers for

the meeting, which was adopted:

President—WILLIAM P. POWELL.

Vice Presidents—Wm. Bush, John Gowing, Wm.

Berry, Alfred Swan, Lewis Betts, Peter Nelson, Rev.

Wm. Jackson, Rev. Wm. Giles, Alfred Smith, Wm.

Ferguson, Charles Carter, Lloyd H. Brooks.

Secretary—Wm. H. Johnson, J. C. Richmond,

Sec. P. Powell, Jr., John Freedom.

The President addressed the meeting as follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS—It is with no small degree of

pleasure we give our consent to preside over the de-

liberations of this patriotic assembly; because we be-

lieve that it is the duty of every citizen of whatever

complexion, however humble, to throw the whole

weight of his influence on the side of the govern-

ment under which he lives; because, notwithstanding

the invidious distinctions so prevalent all over the

country against our race, "for no color of crime, but

for the crime of color," we equally feel the burden

of our country's trouble in common with our other

heretofore highly favored fellow-countrymen; be-

cause the signs of the times clearly indicate that the

non-slave-owning States are now reaping the bitter

fruits of their base servility to the interests of the

slave power; because, to use the language of another,

"If you fasten a chain on the ankle of another, a re-

tributive Providence will surely fasten the other end

around your own neck." If the doctrine of enforced

unrequited labor "is a holy and wholesome thought,"

then it is right to enslave white as well as black men.

What's the source for the goose is most certainly safe

for the gander? If it is right to enslave black men in

South Carolina, under the U. S. Constitution, then it

is right to enslave white laborers in Massachusetts,

and put them and their children, on the auction-

block, and sell them to the highest bidder. The

Richmond Enquirer thus speaks on this topic:

"Until recently, the defense of slavery has labored

under great difficulties because its apologists (for they

were apologists) took half-way ground. They con-

fessed the defense of slavery to be negro slavery; giving

the slaves no other protection than the holding of white

men in bondage."

The line of defense, however, is now changed. The

South maintains that slavery is right, natural and nec-

essary, and does not depend upon differences of complexion.

The laws of the slave States sustain the holding of white

men in bondage."

Ex-Senator Downes, of Louisiana, thus speaks:

"I call upon the opponents of slavery to prove that the

white laborers of the North are as happy, as contented, or

as comfortable, as the slaves of the South. In the South,

the slaves do not suffer one-fourth of the ills endured by

the white laborers of the North. Poverty is unknown to the

Southern slaves, for as soon as the master of slaves be-

comes too poor to provide for them, he sells them to others

who can take care of them. This, sir, is one of the excel-

lences of the system of slavery, and the superior con-

dition of the slave over the Northern white laborer."

Such, fellow-citizens, are the declared purposes of

the lords of the lash. We, as uncompromising Abolition-

ists, contend that chattel slavery is a violation of

man's inherent, God-given right; that no system, cus-

tom, tradition, usage, precedent framed into law, ex-

cept for crime, is a justification for the enslavement

of any of God's children. The election of Abraham

Lincoln to the Presidency is only a pretext for seces-

sion; the great contest now going on all over the

country, disfigure it as we may, is between Slavery and

Freedom—"Slavery sectional, Freedom national." All

also the disintegration of this American Union, now

almost divided North and South—the one by God's

CARD FROM CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN, JR.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Oct. 12th, 1861.

EDITORS LEADER.—A rumor is current that my

company of "Shut-out" soldiers, in camp near Camp

Wade, Cleveland, Ohio, is about to disband from lack

of sufficient numbers to organize a company. This

rumor I wish to contradict through the medium of your

columns and the columns of all papers friendly to my

success in raising this company. The above rumor

has gained some credence chiefly from two causes.

First cause: It has been industriously circulated

by designing men, who are at least disguised seces-

sionists, that my company is a more independent guerilla

band, notwithstanding I have over my own name em-

phatically stated that the company is for United States

service for three years or the war in the Regiment of Col.

Montgomery, Brigade of Gen. Lane, and Division of

Major General John C. Fremont.

Second cause: In consequence of the proclamation

of Gov. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, giving effect to the

citizens of that State to join and serve in Regiments not

belonging to that State, some twenty of my best

men, when I had enlisted and transported to Cleve-

land, after the receipt of the Governor's proclamation,

thought it better to return to the Governor's office,

and let my company and returned home. Yet, for

some time, I have yet left from sixty to seventy men,

good and true, and the places of those who have left

are rapidly being filled.

On the 9th of September, I proposed to the Secretary

of War to accept of one hundred riflemen,

to serve as above specified. Not receiving an im-

mediate reply, I made the same proposition to Gen.

Fremont. An acceptance of my proposition finally came.

The company was accepted by Gen. Fremont. On the

21st of September, I telegraphed Gen. Fremont

that my company had just gone into camp of tempo-

rary rendezvous at Cleveland. Since then have

arisen the above named causes for a rumor, which

shall not prevent ultimate success.

Referring to the case of an aged slave, he adds—

"Those who think the slaves do not know any

thing should hear him. He is a Christian man, and

believes God has sent this war upon the nation to

liberate the slaves. I saw him, and he said, 'I could

swear to you, I could swear to you, I could swear to

you, I could swear to you, I could swear to you, I

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OBITUARY.

A very old friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, (a very old

friend in both senses), Mrs. SALLY BRADFORD, of Duxbury,

has ceased to be mortal. On Thursday, the 10th inst.,

having almost completed her 90th year, she reached that

stage of life which we call death. Her husband, the late

Capt. Gershom Bradford, herself, and her four surviving

daughters, were among the earliest to embrace, and the

trusts taught by the pioneers of abolition. In aid of

such truth, they gave not only money, as others did, but

self-denial and persevering labors, and the ready exer-

cise of their utmost social influence. Their home has ever

been a centre of reformatory action, and a chosen resting-

place, not only of anti-slavery, but various other de-

partments of unpopular truth. It was early given them to

see the corrupt complicity held by the popular churches,

Orthodox and Unitarian, with slavery; and they had the

rare courage and fidelity to testify against it.

Mrs. Bradford gave a beautiful example of cheerful, ac-

tive and happy old age. Emphatically social in disposition,

was in her affectionate, and hospitable desire to do for her

friends and the friends of truth and righteousness, her

attachments and her benevolence extended also to the an-

From the Boston Transcript. FREEDOM'S PROCLAMATION. A CRIME FOR THE HOUR.

Hearken! borne upon the breezes blowing from the
kenning West,
Freedom's first deep throb is struggling from the nation's
mighty breast.
Do ye hear it, oh ye people, over all the storm and strife,
Over all the clash and clamor, sword to sword and knife to
knife?
Do ye hear the throb prophetic, prophesying coming life?
Lo, the very heavens are brightening! Through the rifted
cloud I see
Glimpses of the mighty Future, promises of what shall be.
Oh, the beauty and the glory! Faint and weak I turn
away.
Dashed even unto blindness by the dim yet certain ray:
If the dawning be so glorious, who then shall endure the
day?
God be merciful! A nation groping in such dreadful night,
That the first faint flush of morning pales all its powers
of sight!
God be merciful! A people deluged to Liberty and Truth,
Hugging still the old delusions clinging round its cast-off
youth,
Worshipping its olden idol, grim, unholy and uncouth!
Is it true that Christ, the Master, walked the earth in
years ago,
Having all the garb of Godhead like a glorious garment
on?
Have ye heard his proclamation? "Liberty" these lips
proclaim:
"Open every door of bondage, open, in my Father's
name!"
Have ye heard, and do ye falter? Shame upon ye, Chris-
tians, shame!
"Nay," ye say, "but this is folly, for the hour has not yet
come."
Could ye in His presence say so? Would not your white
lips grow dumb
'Neath the quick, majestic kindling of that eye whose
sacred ken,
Clothed with more than human vision, sees the latest
thoughts of men?
Could ye say so in His presence—could ye? would ye falter
then?
Oh, my brothers, fling your flimsy logic to the mocking
wind,
Lay in dust your smitten foreheads, saying, "Master, we
have sinned!"
Repent ye your guilty weakness, yield it to the pitying
rod,
Then arise and from the nations, face the hour with all its
odds;
Rise and rally to the watchword, "Duty's ours, the issue,
God's!"
For the true cause is just, and the nation or the man,
Rallying at the call of Freedom, see Jehovah in the van;
He it is that shall lead our armies when they battle for the
Right,
Marching his own grand legions to the brave, victorious
fight.
Do ye see the signs, ye watchmen, watching from your
mission height?
Ay, the dawn begins to brighten! One great venture has
been cast,
And the deed has shook the nation like a trumpet's peal-
ing blast!
He, the Hero of the Epoch, striking Freedom's morning
chime,
Foremost of the generations, standing on the height sub-
lime,
Sends his name adown the ages, nobler of his race and
time!
Link your hands with his, my brothers; so shall dawn the
golden year
Spoken of by all the prophets: "Lo, the Lord our God is
here!"
Alleluia, for He reigneth! Through the earth the chorus
rings:
Every bondman's yoke is broken,—praise Him, all created
things!
Alleluia, for He reigneth, Lord of Lords, and King of
Kings!
But, if still ye shrink and falter, with the black brand on
your brow,
Warding off His blessed purpose with your impotent "not
now,"
Hear your doom, oh guilty nation; for, as God in heaven
is true,
Though to His poor suffering millions Peace and Freedom
shall come,
All without your help or hindrance, His dark curse shall
rest on you!
Fitchburg, Mass. CAROLINE A. MARON.

From the Boston Journal. OUR COUNTRY'S GUILT.

Before His dread and awful throne, the Righteous and the Just,
Do thou, my bleeding country, lay thy forehead in the
dust;
Fling at His feet thy stony crown, and humbly lay aside
The haughty ensigns of thy power, the robes of state and
pride.
Let the coarse sackcloth wrap thy proud and lofty form
instead;
Upon that day, let ashes strew thy tall and stately head.
Where all the countless hosts of heaven their shining fore-
heads lay,
Columbia, low in the dust bow thy sin that day!
A few short years ago, oppressed 'neath England's iron rod,
A people small and weak, we raised th' imploring hands
to God:
Our cry came up before His throne, He hearkened to our
prayer;
A mighty nation have we grown beneath his fostering care.
Than ours, beneath th' all-seeing sun no fairer land may be;
Proudly our stately cities rise, our ships ride every sea;
But, woe to all our land this day! as strong we grew, and
great,
We wronged the stranger, and oppressed the poor within
our gate.
We have heard, with smiling lip and brow, the cruel des-
pot's plea,
Who would spread through all the glorious West the curse
of slavery.
Long has God borne with us, but now has risen in his
might;
Has come with gleaming fire and sword that fearful wrong
to right;
For this has brought us low, for this has hedged with thorns
our path;
Caused us with heavy hearts to drink "the wine-cup of
his wrath."
And as for us, we can but lay our punishment lip in dust,
And own, in penitence and tears, our humbled is just!
The sword within their hands we've placed, we've done
this treacherous thing,
And the vipers warned to life, who now our fostering bo-
som ally!
But God is merciful as just, we shall not plead in vain;
If humbly we return to Him, He will turn to us again,
He will lift our forehead from the dust, take our reproach
away;
His mercy lasts through endless years, His wrath but for a
day!

THE BATTLE OF LIFE.

Warped and worn, oh, stricken in spirit,
Fret not at feeling the gall in thy lot;
Seemingly favored ones do not inherit
All thy imaginings—envy them not.
Think, when the battle of life at the hottest
Presseth thee downward on every hand,
A truce, or a triumph, may come ere thou wilt;
Let hope ever glide thee, impelled, to stand.
Faint not, no falter, nor white broken-hearted;
Thousands are fighting in common with you;
Thousands have fought—the spirit departed
That nerved for the conflict and carried them through!

The Liberator.

For the Congregationalist. DR. ANDERSON'S "MEMORIAL VOLUME."

The senior Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has just published an octavo volume of 462 pages, purporting to give, as fully as that space will allow, a sketch of the history and chief characteristics of the missionary enterprise conducted by that body, in its half century of labor, completed a year ago.

An editorial notice of this book in the *Congregationalist* regrets "that the relations of the missionary churches to slavery have not been stated as freely as those which they sustain to caste and polygamy." This seems to imply that these relations have been stated there, though too briefly. The fact, however, is, that in this octavo volume, purporting to be historical, no mention whatever is made of the Board's relation to slavery, or of the numerous and important transactions growing out of that relation, except the incidental mention—in speaking of two deputations, which were sent, in 1848 and 1855, across the whole breadth of the United States to visit the Cherokee and Choctaw missions—that they were designed, the first, to show the relations of those missions, and their churches, "to the subject of slavery"; the second, "to make further efforts for removing the difficulties growing out of the question of slavery." The book contains nothing more upon this immensely important subject.

Examination has shown me, not only that one important class of facts, most seriously affecting the character and credit of the Board, is carefully avoided and kept out of sight in this volume, but that certain claims made in it in favor of the Board, in regard to their success in their missionary work, are in melancholy conflict with existing facts. Since the matters in question are suited to attract the interest of all Christians, and since those who furnish the large sums annually required by the Board are entitled to know that which relates both to the Board's faithfulness in labor, and its success in accomplishing the object of labor, I request permission to speak, as briefly as may be, on these two points, to the readers of the *Congregationalist*.

1. The facts in regard to one very important department of the action and influence of the Board have been carefully left out of this volume.

No mention is made in it of the fact that, during forty years of the Board's half-century here, the Cherokee and Choctaw nations were in the process of being dispossessed of their lands, and the habit of slaveholding which those tribes had already formed, and to give to that evil habit the strength and respectability naturally resulting from the free admission of slaveholders to the mission-churches as Christians.

Again, no mention is made in it of the very important fact that, in almost every year from 1837 to 1860, strong remonstrances against the continuance of the Board's complicity with slavery were made by some of its members and patrons. And it is equally silent in regard to the very significant fact, that these remonstrances were never complied with by the Board, but were met, sometimes with uncourteous silence and neglect, sometimes with the show of consideration and action, sometimes with deceptive evasion, and sometimes with replies compounded of sophistry and fraud.

Even if shame at his own large share in the commencement and continuance of the Board in this unchristian policy sufficed to keep the senior Secretary from a full account of it, he might at least have given one page to the bare statement of facts so important as those above mentioned. That he has altogether omitted such facts is a serious drawback to the historical value of the book.

2. But, bad as is the omission of one important branch of the Board's history, from a book purporting to give that history, this volume contains something worse, namely, a misrepresentation of some of the results of the missionary labor.

Nobody knew better than Dr. Anderson that the Prudential Committee's declaration (in their Annual Report for 1860) that "The Cherokees are a Christian people," was a gross misrepresentation, not only unsupported by facts, but contradicted and proved false by the statement respecting the Cherokee nation in that very Annual Report which he had just prepared.

The ground on which the Board declared the 21,000 Cherokees to be "a Christian people," if carefully scrutinized, is found to be this, and only this. The Board's four mission churches in that nation contained 136 Cherokee church-members; and the preaching at these four stations (one of them holding only a monthly meeting) had average congregations (church-members included) of 40, 60, 80 and 75; making in all, saints and sinners, Cherokees, white people and colored people, only 255 customary hearers of the Board's preaching. Rather a small basis for the declaration that a nation of 21,000 persons is "a Christian people."

It is not, however, the smallness of these numbers merely on which I rest the assertion that the Prudential Committee's claim in regard to the Cherokees is a gross misrepresentation. A little genuine heaven-leavened whole lump. If the Board's 136 Cherokee church-members were thorough, zealous and active Christians, no doubt they would exercise a strong influence upon their 20,864 countrymen, and do much towards giving the nation the aspect of "a Christian people." But the Prudential Committee's own statement of the character of these churches in another place, where they are urging the very small prospect of any further improvement among the Cherokees, and of any advantage whatever to be expected from continuing the mission, throws serious doubt upon the question whether even the 136 church-members are properly entitled Christians. Here are the admissions of one of the missionaries in regard to the discouragements of his brethren:

"They are laboring under a complication of disadvantages; at a great expense—greater, I suppose, in proportion to the extent of their operations, than that of any other denomination; shut out, at least for the present, from adding to the number of their stations, or exchanging them for more promising localities; regarded with jealousy by a very influential portion of the community; with so many satiric sneers; with small congregations; with very few young persons connected with their churches; with a membership that has not materially increased for many years; and with scarcely any promise of future accessions."—*Ann. Rep.* of 1860, p. 140.

To these admissions of the missionary, the Prudential Committee add the following on their own account, under the same head, namely—"Difficulties in the way of further operations by the Board":

"The proportion of the people now reached by our ministrations is comparatively small. The audience at Park Hill is not far from forty; that at Fairfeld (a monthly meeting) is sixty; at Dwight, it is from sixty to one hundred; and at Lee's Creek, seventy-five. Moreover, all the missionaries preach through interpreters. If it were possible, as it is not, to procure native pastors for the small churches at each of these places, the people could not be induced to support them."—*Ibid.*

How deep is the significance of these admissions! When we consider that the missionaries and the Prudential Committee join in confessing that of their 136 Cherokee church-members (the last result of a forty years' mission, conducted at an expense of three hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars—\$356,421) not one is active and zealous enough to preach to his own people, in his own language, the religion he is assumed to have learned, and that, if such could be found, his (assumed) fellow-Christians could not be induced to support him, how monstrous seems the claim made by the Prudential Committee, and repeated by Dr. Anderson in the volume before us, that "the Cherokee people have been Christianized!"

These admissions of the Board respecting the spiritual destitution of the Cherokees are well suited to remind us of the description of the Laodicean church, "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." But the Cherokees are not merely "lukewarm"; they are actively vicious.

Not only are they determined slaveholders, not only has their slaveholding steadily increased during the forty years of the Board's labors among them, not only did this slaveholding include (by Mr. Secretary Treat's admission in 1848) "cases of gross cruelty and oppression," and laws forbidding the teaching of slaves and free negroes to read the Bible, but the habits thus cherished by the nation out of the church, and by the Board's missionaries in the church, have now brought forth their natural fruit, in the decision of the Cherokee nation to join the rebels in their war upon the United States for the extension and support of slavery. Here is the evidence, which I find in the *Transcript* of the 1st inst.:

"THE CHEROKEE NATION JOIN THE CONFEDERATES.—Rev. Mr. Robinson, a missionary teacher in the Cherokee Nation, has arrived at St. Louis, and reports that the Chief of that Nation finally acceded to the secession pressure, and on August 20 called the Council together at Tahlequah, and sent in a message recommending the severance of their connection with the United States and an alliance with the Southern Confederacy. The Council approved of the recommendation, and appointed Commissioners to make a treaty of alliance with the Southern Government. The Confederate Commissioner had assumed the payment of the annuities hitherto received by the Cherokees from our Government."

This action, be it observed, is not forced upon the nation by their Chief, but forced upon the Chief by the nation. And this is the nation which, only one year ago, the American Board declared to be "a Christian people!"

This last shameful conduct of the Cherokees—making war upon our nation without the pretence of any present ill treatment on our part, or ground of complaint against us—has occurred since the publication of Dr. Anderson's book. But the union of the Cherokee nation with the rebels in the prosecution of this atrocious war took place earlier, and before the publication of the book; yet Dr. Anderson has the hardihood to represent them also as "a Christian people"; exceeding, in so doing, even the misrepresentations previously published by the Board.

Not only did the Prudential Committee (in disclaiming the Choctaw mission in 1859) make no claim of Christian character for the Choctaw nation, but their language in proposing the discontinuance, and their voted resolution accomplishing it, and their comments in the Annual Report for 1859 respecting it, show the reason to have been something altogether different. Here is the evidence.

The letter of the Prudential Committee, proposing this discontinuance to the Choctaw mission, mentions as its cause "the unceasing embarrassments and perplexities" connected with that mission.—*Ann. Rep.* for 1859, p. 140.

The subsequent letter, accomplishing the discontinuance, gives the formal vote in regard to it as follows:

"Resolved, 1. That in view of the embarrassments connected with the missionary work among the Choctaws, which affect injuriously, as well the labors of the brethren in that field, as the relations sustained by the Board to its friends and patrons, it is incumbent on the Prudential Committee to discontinue the Choctaw mission; and the same is hereby discontinued."—*Ibid.*, p. 145.

In commenting upon this correspondence, the Prudential Committee admit that—

"They have felt themselves greatly embarrassed by facts and considerations which they cannot properly submit to the public eye."

And they add, immediately after—

"In presenting to the Board, therefore, a letter which has closed its responsibilities in a part of the great mission, the Prudential Committee wish it to be understood that the whole case is not here."—*Ibid.*, p. 145.

This is mysterious and suggestive. In the two years that have passed since the Prudential Committee's use of this very peculiar language, they have given no solution of the mystery. But at least they have the negative merit of having refrained from claiming a Christian character for the Choctaw nation. They were then ignorant (so, at least, the Secretary, Mr. Treat, declares) of the burning alive of one of their Choctaw church-members by another, without prejudice to the good standing of the latter in the Stockbridge church. Moreover, the Choctaws had not then joined the South to fight against the United States in aid of the extension and perpetuity of slavery. Still, the Prudential Committee did not venture to say that the Choctaw nation had been Christianized by their labors. This amount of hardihood was left for the senior Secretary; and he is not deterred from it even by the knowledge of the shameful facts above mentioned.

The slaveholding of the Choctaw nation—continued, with the Board's consent, during the forty years of their mission—is already extensively known, however little regarded by the corrupt churches of this pro-slavery American people. The alliance of the Choctaws with the Southern rebels will soon publish itself, in the tomahawk and scalping of our citizen soldiers. But the claim of Dr. Anderson that such a nation is "a Christian people" renders it indispensable that a wider publication be made of some portions of their church history—of the demeanor to each other of the Board's "converts" in the Choctaw churches. Here are five facts in regard to the Choctaw churches, which need to be read, marked, learned and inwardly digested by all Christians—especially by all who are asked to give money to the "American Board."

I. A female slave, a member of the Stockbridge mission church, (under the pastoral care of Rev. Cyrus Byington,) was burned alive on Sunday, Jan. 23, 1859, by the instigation of her mistress, a sister in the same church, who was present, with others of the church-members, while this murder was perpetrated. The victim had previously been tortured, to extort from her a confession of guilt; but she continued, both then and with dying breath, to declare her innocence of the crime imputed to her. Another slave, who had also been tortured for the same purpose, but who also persisted in declaring his innocence, committed suicide to avoid being burned alive; and his dead body was burned on the same pile with the living woman.

II. The Stockbridge church soon after held "a big meeting" for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. No mention was made in it of the recent murder of one of its members by another! No objection was made to the recognition of the murderers as Christians! No charge was brought, either then or afterwards, (as far as diligent inquiry has revealed,) by the church, or by any member of it, or by the pastor, against the instigator of this horrible deed, as having violated their standard of Christian character!

III. As far as diligent inquiry has succeeded in revealing, none of the Board's other churches in the Choctaw nation took the least notice of this transaction, or seemed to consider the mere burning alive of a slave (though a "sister in Christ") as imposing upon them any duty of interference, discipline, or even inquiry.

IV. The missionary-pastor of the Stockbridge church (if Mr. Secretary Treat's testimony is true) gave no report to the Prudential Committee, or to the Board, respecting the perpetration of this crime, or the neglect of the church to institute discipline for it, or the neglect of the other mission-churches to make protest against the allowance of such conduct by the Stockbridge church. He concealed the whole transaction from his employers, the Prudential Committee, and from the Christian public, who, having furnished the large sums annually consumed by the Choctaw mission, had a right to be informed of it "walk and conversation." And when, afterwards, he received a respectful letter of inquiry from Prof. S. C. Bartlett, of Chicago, he first left it for three months unanswered, and then wrote, "refusing to give any information or explanation."

V. After some months of further delay, an anonymous letter appeared in the *Congregationalist*, (May 31, 1861,) wondering that so much evil should be made about "a dead negro," and alleging, in extenuation of the quiescence of the Stockbridge church, and of the

other Choctaw churches—1, that there is no more freedom of opinion in the Choctaw nation than in Spain, and that, on matters pertaining to slavery, its citizens and its missionary teachers have to conduct themselves just as they would under the most despotic government in the world;—and, 2, that Mrs. Harkins, the murderess, belonged to the Fitch family, a family of such power and influence in the nation, that any attempt to take even legal measures against one of them, even on his commission of murder, "would be simply ridiculous." (This anonymous letter, with the comments of Prof. Bartlett, may be seen in full in the appendix to a recently published book, entitled "Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery.")

The state of things among the Choctaws thus revealed is well suited to bring to our minds, by contrast, the declaration of the Prudential Committee, (p. 29 of their Annual Report for 1852,) that "the Choctaws have a good government."

Has that nation a good government in which the burning alive of a human being by mob violence passed unnoticed by the civil authority, and cannot be made to claim its attention as an offence?

Is that nation "a Christian people" whose churches utterly ignore and disregard the commission of such a crime by one church-member upon another?

Dr. Anderson represents the nation whose past recent history includes these features, and whose present position is that of unprovoked war against the United States for the very worst of purposes—as "a Christian people"! Whether this representation is true, whether it is honest, whether it is just, whether it is pure—whether the "Memorial Volume" which omits so much, and which perverts so much, of the actual history of the American Board's operations, is to be received as authentic history—let the Christian public judge.

C. K. W.

October 7th, 1861.

The foregoing communication was written for the *Congregationalist*, but the editor of that paper refused to insert it. In a note explaining his refusal, he says that he censures the silence of Dr. Anderson in regard to slavery as heartily as I do; but that, "having condemned that silence," he does not feel called upon to say more about it at present; moreover, he sees no good purpose to be answered by further comment upon it.

In reply to this may be said, that the proportion of this editor's condemnation to his approval—both of the book in question and the course of the Board during the years of its worst complicity with slavery—has been but as one grain to a hundred pounds; and that even his disapproval has uniformly been expressed in such terms as to conceal both the extent and the true character of the offences committed. For example, his comments on that feature of Dr. Anderson's Memorial Volume to which he objects are such as to utterly mislead the confiding reader who has not seen the book in question. When he faintly regrets that "the relations of the missionary churches to slavery have not been stated as freely as I do; but that, 'having condemned that silence,' he does not feel called upon to say more about it at present; moreover, he sees no good purpose to be answered by further comment upon it."

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